

THE AGRICULTURAL PROCESS

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[406] If, however, the water level is low and/or the field surface high, the water must be pumped into the field with a foot treadle waterwheel, usually operated by one to three people at a time.

The irrigation water is fed into the many fields which receive it on a rotation system. The fields nearest to the water source receive the water earliest. Thus, when the first water gate in the irrigation canal is closed, the water is diverted into the irrigation ditches and flows into the adjacent area; the flow of water below this water gate is practically stopped. The water in these irrigation ditches is received first by the land closest to the water gate. In each small area the narrow irrigation ditch is blocked with an earth dam which diverts the water into the fields. When the fields are sufficiently flooded, the dam is opened and the water proceeds through the irrigation ditch to the next small dam, where it is again diverted into the fields. When all the fields in the area have been flooded, the first water gate on the canal is opened, and the water flows on through the canal until it reaches the next closed water gate, which again diverts it into the ditches and to the fields. So the rotation system continues down the line, with the land furthest from the water gates and irrigation ditches receiving the water last.

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243 Under such a system, if there is a water shortage the areas nearest the water gates and dams have the best chance of receiving an adequate water supply. The farmers call this area the "water head." The area most distant from the water gates and dams is known as the "water tail." Farmers whose fields must wait until the last for water usually suffer from an insufficient water supply for their crops, especially for rice.

Even if there is not a water shortage, the farmers who cultivate fields in the water tail normally plant their rice later than the farmers in the water head, which creates a natural staggering of the planting and harvesting in the area. However, when there is a water shortage, it is often necessary, especially for the farmers in the water tail, to delay the transplanting of the rice seedlings and sometimes even to substitute another crop. Most of the land tilled by the Hain Hsing villagers is in the water tail, and during the course of the research period it was common to see plowed fields waiting for weeks to be flooded or to see rice withering in the dry and cracking soil. As a result frequently the rice production of the area is disappointingly small, and the water problem is a constant concern of the villagers, even the young children. Water and the coming of water is often the main topic of conversation for weeks on end.

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685 Sometimes the water problem becomes so grave that farmers may resort to "stealing water," secretly opening a water gate or an earthen dam in an irrigation ditch so that they can obtain their water out of

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966

AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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of sugarcane or some flavored ice in the hot weather. Wherever they may be, the men usually sit about smoking, talking about their crops or work, or telling stories and jokes. Some men play Chinese chess or listen to the radio at the village store.

The women have less free time during the day regardless of the agricultural season. During the slack seasons women are occupied steadily with ordinary household tasks. During the busy season they are simply busier, taking on additional work in the fields, cooking food at home for any hired laborers, or drying rice or vegetables after the harvest. When women do not have pressing work, they often spend their time in small groups working on fiber hats or mending clothing. At times as they work they may listen to Taiwanese opera on a radio, but more often they simply talk or gossip. Women also spend some of their free time visiting with neighbors or *ch'in tsu* in the village. If their own parents or brothers live in villages nearby, they may visit them on occasion for several hours.

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OLD AGE

As old age approaches—and a person is considered old after fifty—both men and women gradually retire from farm work and household tasks if they have children who are able to take over the work and care for them. While this is usually the case, in these days there are also times when married sons go off to work in Taipei, and it then becomes necessary for the old man and the daughters-in-law to work the land. In such cases even the old mother has to do a great deal of work in the household.

In general, however, old age is a time of great freedom and leisure for men and women. Since they have few pressing responsibilities, they are free to wander about the village and visit each other. At most, old people of either sex may help watch their young grandchildren during the day. Some of the older people, especially one or two grandmothers in Hsin Hsing, are known for their ability to tell wonderful stories based on Taiwan opera or puppet shows which they have seen in the surrounding villages or in Lukang.

Unlike younger people, the old are not under pressure to adhere to the proprieties of life. Old women smoke in public, appear at public dinners normally attended by men only, and are generally outspoken. Old men frequent banquets and festivals held in Hsin Hsing and even surrounding villages. On such occasions they care little how much they eat and frequently gorge themselves with the good food. Their juniors watch and say nothing, and in fact seem to enjoy watching the old men behaving in ways that they cannot. At most they may laugh and make good-natured jokes at how much the old man is still capable of

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RELIGION AND MAGIC

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possessed and uncontrollably violent. They writhed and reeled and pulled the chair in different directions. At times the sheer weight of the moving chair caused them to fall to the ground in a heap. Villagers who had come to witness the ritual ran for cover for fear of being trampled by the frenzied men or struck by the chair they wielded. Finally, when the entire route had been covered, the god took his leave, and the men came out of their trances. Many of them bore bruises caused by their many falls under the heavy chair.

The villagers look forward to such exciting occasions and talk about them long after they are past. The exploits of the *t'iao t'ung* are a common topic of discussion among the villagers, and some consider them capable of performing superhuman acts while possessed. The magnificent feats of the *t'iao t'ung* in the old days are commonly recounted, and people admit that there are only a few *t'iao t'ung* in the area who now possess really unusual powers.

Of the magical rituals and shamanistic feats discussed by villagers, one of the most unusual is a feat performed by a *t'iao t'ung* while in a trance walking barefoot on hot coals without being harmed. The villagers note that few *t'iao t'ung* attempt this anymore. Some villagers claim that the *t'iao t'ung* used to walk on water. A young man related a story to me and several villagers about a *t'iao t'ung* who, while in a trance, had tried this several years earlier. Everyone present dissolved into fits of hysterical laughter at the last line of the tale—"When the *t'iao t'ung* tried to walk on the water he went under and was drowned."

However, there are certain classic feats which are performed successfully by the *t'iao t'ung* today. One of the most common is for a possessed *t'iao t'ung* to "cut his head open with a sword" without seriously harming himself. Commonly, this is done at a ceremonial called "taking water," which is performed only once in several years by any particular village, though within the immediate area each year there is usually one village which holds it. A *t'iao t'ung*, while possessed by a god, informs the villagers that they must schedule this ceremony for a specific date at a certain river. On the appointed day, most of the male villagers accompany the *t'iao t'ung* to the river, which may be several miles away. At the river, the *t'iao t'ung* goes into a trance and blindly staggers into the water. All the villagers run into the water after him. He is handed a sword with which he cuts his forehead, and the other men push his head to the surface of the water, allowing his blood to mix with the river water. Since the *t'iao t'ung* is possessed by the god his blood is sacred, and when it mixes with the water, the water is considered holy. At the moment of consecration, the villagers frantically fill the kettles, bottles, and barrels which they have brought with them. The water is carried home and used for its

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755 shaman's magic. The awe and shock which he inspires in the patient
154 could have actual therapeutic value, at least to the extent of bringing
about temporary relief if not recovery, and may not be too dissimilar
to the effect of electric shock. And fear of the "shock treatment," in
either case, may provide as beneficial a result as actual recourse to the
treatment.

796 A social function of ritual, and especially of shamanistic types of
755 ritual, might be briefly considered here. This is its "entertainment"
789 value in rural areas. Frequently, large numbers of people turn out to
182 witness curing or fire rituals, which may last long into the night. They
[787] almost always regard the shaman's performance as an exciting event.
Many attempt to become participants, and some in their enthusiasm
and excitement may even become possessed. Most participate by
merely presenting sacrifices. Frequently, large crowds come from sur-
rounding villages to watch the often "amazing feats" carried out in the
course of some shamanistic rites. In this process of drawing together for
[621] an exciting ritual event, the people gain a strong—if temporary—
[521] feeling of social cohesion. Even later, the rituals give the villagers an
interesting topic to discuss and gossip about for many days. Thus,
although there is little formal entertainment in rural Taiwan, the
ritual act often serves to fill its place.

771 Even though these rituals are performed by so many villagers, it
178 does not particularly indicate absolute faith in the supernatural.
While a great number of old people still hold these beliefs without
reservations, today most of the villagers express some degree of uncer-
tainty. Generally, villagers say that "many *t'iao t'ung* are not as
powerful as they used to be, and also there are some who are probably
fakes, but who can really tell?" (This is a point frequently made in
the past by the Japanese when they ruled Taiwan and again today by
the present government through the school system.) In addition, the
villagers ask, "Who can really know if the *t'iao t'ung* is possessed by a
god and speaking the god's words?" But all the villagers "know from
experience that life is hard," and they constantly seek ways to temper
this harshness. Although their faith may not be absolute, they "would
not dare merely to sit and do nothing" when a sick member of the
family showed no improvement, or a child neither ate nor slept for
days, or a fire destroyed someone's house. They are anxious, and their
continued recourse to magical or religious rituals represents their at-
tempt to do everything possible to allay their apprehension of the
unknown.

755 Thus, even the most skeptical of the villagers will call on a shaman
177 in an emergency. Though the importance of Western medicine has
128 reduced the old primary reliance on ritual curing, social pressure as
622 well as the desire to do everything possible if one method fails forces

585 bride's entry into the house, and then at last the girl is led into the house and presented to her husband's ancestors. Thus begins the lifelong process of her incorporation into her husband's family. The birth of her first child will affirm her position in the family, but it will not be until she dies and takes her own place on the family altar that the process will be completed.

The festivities which occupy the remainder of the day, and which often last on into the following day, are much less concerned with the bride and groom than they are with the importance of their two families. The female guests in the house pass in and out of the new couple's bedroom for another look at the new bride, and his friends joke with the groom and attempt to get him drunk, but otherwise the bride and groom

585 pass from the center of attention. At the major feast of the day it is
293 the groom's mother's brother, not the groom, who sits at the seat of
521 honor, and the various speeches and toasts offered by local notables
[604] tend to be more concerned with the family's reputation and status than with the happiness and future of the newlyweds. The family history is described as long and illustrious; the names of notable members of the family are recalled for renewed honor; and assurances are given that the family's name will shine and their fortune prosper. The more the speakers drink, the more lavish and general the congratulations. The schoolmaster is praised for his erudition and scholarly accomplishments; the village mayor is thanked for his great contributions to the general welfare; and the community is described again and again as having a widely respected reputation in the eyes of its neighbors. Each new

595 toast introduces a new round of flattery, and every drink exaggerates
[293] the virtues of those present. Later that evening some of the younger
[32] guests make their way to the newlyweds' quarters to hold something like
a shivaree, but this is only as a side show to the feasting in the
ancestral hall which may last until late at night.

*593 The formal marriage procedure is brought to completion three days
585 after the wedding when the bride pays her first visit to her parental
family. From a functional point of view, the significance of this visit
lies in the fact that it constitutes a declaration of the bride's new
status vis-à-vis her consanguineal relatives. She left her parental
home as a daughter and an intimate member of her natal family; she
now returns as a member of another family and as a guest. Her mother
or her sisters serve her tea in the kōng-thiā: as they might serve a
respected guest, and it is expected that these former intimates will
now make at least a show of formality. The ceremony is, in fact,
referred to as cūè-khēq, "being a guest." After this first visit the
the bride may return to her home from time to time to visit with her
relatives and commiserate with her mother, and it is expected of her
that she return for a somewhat more formal visit every New Year. As
time passes, however, and the girl becomes more and more secure in her
new home, she visits her parental family less and less often, so that
one finds that many older women do not return to their natal home even
at New Years. As one informant explained, "Once you have children you
are too busy, and then your parents die so that you don't know anyone
there anymore, and finally you just don't feel like going back there."

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The House of Lim

444 includes some lively teen-agers, is where the older adolescents of the village gather. At the opposite end of the village in a shed that seems [583] in imminent danger of blowing away is a candy store run by a woman with too many children to go out to work and too little money to stay home. The women who come to buy candy to quiet their crying children often sit down on the bench in front of the store to pass the time of day with Mrs. Lim, the proprietress.

444 The main store and the one most easily identified as a store is [438] located in the center of the village. The candy and cookie collection is more elaborate, and rice, cooking oil, fuel, spices, and a few other essentials can be obtained here at prices only slightly higher than in Tapu. For many years there was no store at all in Peihotien, but according to Ng Kok-hua, the proprietor, our landlord's older brother talked him into fitting out an unused storage wing of his house as a shop. Very little of Mr. Ng's present good fortune comes from the store, but he still keeps it 444 open and probably makes some profit from it. Unfortunately, the bane 426 of a village storekeeper is trying to refuse credit to his neighbors and, 521 when this inevitably fails, trying to collect what he is owed. Occasionally Mr. Ng loses his temper and curses his debtors loudly and publicly. This rarely adds to his income but it does entertain the loungers resting on his benches. One day when Mr. Ng was trying to collect a bad debt from a neighbor who is also a distant relative, I jotted down the highlights of the discussion. Mr. Ng's wife who tends the store most of the time and takes the brunt of her husband's temper was also there. Mr. Ng was saying angrily to his wife, "You think that everyone is of good heart and just give things to them."

Mrs. Ng, looking anxiously at her husband's rising color, answered, "Well, they said they would give me the money after they sold the pig. How could I know that they wouldn't give it to me?"

Mr. Ng gave his wife a look of utter scorn and, turning his attention to the hapless debtor, a Mrs. Lim, he continued, "You all come here and get things and don't give me any money, but when I go buy all these things I have to give money. How can I go along like this? I have to go and borrow money so that I can buy things for the store!"

Some of the on-lookers exchanged skeptical glances over this statement. Mr. Ng did not seem to notice and warmed to his subject. "How can I borrow money and then lend it to other people? That's what it amounts to. And that is no way to do business."

The Village

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Mrs. Lim answered, soothingly, "Now, Ng, your temper is thin, but my son is not a bad person. It is just that we have no money. The money we got from the pig had to go to people we borrowed money from and we still owe them more money. My poor son is the only one earning money in our family and he has to feed us all. We have to borrow a little each month just to have enough to eat. He only makes NT\$700* a month and you can't feed six people on that."

Several of the loungers began at this point to calculate just how much money would be needed to feed a family the size of Mrs. Lim's, and the consensus of opinion was that her son's income was indeed not up to the job. Mr. Ng did not join in these interesting calculations but continued to rub his head and make frustrated comments about the store, debtors, fate, etc. He finally growled at the group in general, "Oh, this store! This store! This store just can't give people food if they don't give it money!"

Mrs. Lim smiled at him sympathetically, and said, "Well, if you had a store in the city, you could do things that way, but not in the country. In the country you have to let people have things whether they have money or not. I know it is hard on you, but you just have to do it that way."

Several members of the group agreed with Mrs. Lim and informed Mr. Ng of it. Mr. Ng began to get red in the face again and spoke very loudly to Mrs. Lim. "You calculate how much interest it would cost you if you borrowed two thousand dollars a year. You just see how much interest that would be every month. Now, I don't charge you a single bit of interest, do I? Do I?"

Mrs. Lim looked genuinely horrified at the thought and readily agreed that he did not charge interest. Mr. Ng continued, "So now all I want is my money. You just give me the money and not the interest—just the money so that I can go buy more things for my store. When you go home, you tell that son of yours to bring me my money and I will be happy. I don't care if you never buy anything from me again, but I want my money. I won't say anything about that stupid nephew of yours who has three people in the family that are working and still comes and buys on credit and never pays me back."

* At this time the exchange rate for New Taiwan dollars (NT\$) was about forty to one United States dollar. For a village family of two adults and two children approximately NT\$800 would provide an average living, with very few luxuries.

444 This seemed to lead Mr. Ng to think of all the others who had
426 debts with him and he listed them and their debts and their incomes
• 521 and their ancestors, all in an unsavory light. He ended with a dramatic
wail, "Everyone wants to eat me—who am I supposed to eat?" and
disappeared into the back of the store. Before the crowd had a chance
to move off though, he called out to his wife in a fine stage voice,
"Old woman! From now on don't you give anything to anybody
without seeing their money."

444 The women sitting on the benches chatted for a while longer and
426 even though some of them were on Mr. Ng's list, they were generally
602 sympathetic to the plight of the country storekeeper. One woman
571 summed it up nicely: "It really is hard to run a country store if you
369 don't have a lot of money because all of your neighbors that you have
known for generations and all of your relatives come and want things
when they don't have any money, and so you just have to give them
the things. Sometimes you know that if you give things to this person,
he will never give you the money, and so you tell him this, and then he
gets mad and says that you don't respect him and goes all around to
people saying you have insulted his family. If you don't give things to
people, they get mad at you, but if you do, you can't make any
money. It really is hard to run a store in the country."

The House of Lim

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*159 pou was no more communicative than usual, but she did make a few
152 terse comments about Chang's origin and what might be expected
837 under the circumstances. The relationship between Lim Hue-lieng's
595 two families is intriguing. None of the women in the main family are
what I came to call "wanderers," that is women who of an afternoon
turn up in different houses or at the various gathering places in search
of conversation and the latest gossip. Lim Chui-ieng has few friends in
the village because of her sharp tongue and her snobbishness. Lim A-
pou is too busy and as much as possible keeps her daughter-in-law
busy, although the latter manages to slip over to the Ong compound
more frequently than her mother-in-law realizes. (The Ongs are dis-
tantly related to the girl and served as go-between for her marriage.)

• [52] The Lim family, however, has far too interesting a potential for vil-
lage gossip to be isolated. There is a steady trickle of women visiting
them, watching Lim A-pou in her ceaseless activity, laughing at her
daughter-in-law in her ceaseless inefficiency, and smiling at Lim Chui-
ieng in her determined attempt to play the great lady. Not once in my
long stay did I see Lim So-lan in the house or talking to any of the
women from the house. I could not fail to recognize, however, the
honest pleasure on her face when she told me that Lim Chieng-cua
had begun to drop into her house now that his friends were gathering
there to play cards.

*159 Gioq-ki is another matter. She moves freely through the Lim
*596 house, even the sleeping rooms, poking into personal belongings, bor-
595 rowing knitting needles, much as any other daughter of the family.
She is equally relaxed with Lim Chieng-cua, her uncle, as she is with
her half-brother, Lim A-bok, but what really surprised me is the ease
with which she sits down for a visit with Lim A-pou who has more
reason to resent her than anyone else in the family. Gioq-ki's naughty
children use the house as freely as they do the house in which their
grandmother grew up. More than once I have seen Lim A-pou pick up
and comfort the older boy after a fall. During several of the long years
of childhood, Gioq-ki considered the house of Lim her home—long
before she was old enough to understand the delicacy of her relation-
ship. Her personality is such that she could not bear to know that the
house of one of the most important families in the village, a family
that is closely related to her, is also closed to her. For once she has
had the good sense to move cautiously around subjects that are the
source of strain within the main family. She has not openly taken

Iu Mui-mue: A Rejected Bride

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husband is considerably older than she, which is not particularly unusual, and he seems blessed with no more sense or responsibility than his wife. He has worked in the gardens of American military and embassy families on occasion, but now that the early days of gross overpayment are finished, he is resentful of the wages he is paid (usually about twice what any Chinese would consider paying). He never has a steady job and makes little effort in that direction, but when he does find something that pays well, the family lives high. I overheard the following conversation between Lim Chui-ieng and Tan A-hong about their mutual relative when they found out that Mui-mue's husband had found a profitable job.

A-hong: "He has already made over NT\$3,000 and now they have set him to planting trees at the flour mill in Tapu. He is getting paid ten dollars a tree! But, neither of them think of paying back the money they owe. They just buy new clothes, and more food than a family twice their size could eat, and Mui-mue gambles every day."

Lim Chui-ieng: "I never could do the way she does. She only thinks about borrowing the money and never about the next time she may need to borrow. Every time you ask them to pay you back, they say they will pay you as soon as they get some money. It's only her mouth that says this though, it never gets into her head."

A-hong: "That's right. We always worry when we owe people money, but those two! The husband and wife are just the same! A-bok has seen him come home several times with a big basket of peaches. I would never dare buy peaches."

Lim Chui-ieng: "My children don't even know what a peach tastes like."

A-hong: "Mui-mue doesn't understand anything at all about *cue lang* [obligations to people]. Like that time when her son was so sick and they didn't have enough money to take the child to a doctor. My daughter gave her some rings to pawn, but instead she took them around to different people and borrowed money from them all. When Chun-ieng found out about it, she had to go around and pay all the people. Mui-mue never did pay Chun-ieng the money. If she understood about *cue lang*, she would always be grateful to my Chun-ieng because her child would be dead now if it weren't for her. Instead, she doesn't even pay her back the money."

The two women continued discussing Iu Mui-mue's various strategies for obtaining money, Lim Chui-ieng admitting that even she had

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*159 made the mistake once of borrowing money for her which she finally
426 had to repay herself. Tan A-hong who lives next door to Mui-mue
• 521 said that someone or other comes nearly every day to try to get money
owed to them. The two women then tried to calculate the debts known
to them and came up with a figure close to NT\$10,000, not including
their current bill at Ng's store. Tan A-hong's righteous indignation at
Mui-mue's debts and daily gambling may strike the reader as hypo-
critical, but in a village economy Mui-mue's peccadilloes are less
forgivable than A-hong's. The latter pays her debts, albeit with her
daughter's money, but Mui-mue borrows from non-relatives as from
relatives with no serious plan for repayment. The long suffering wife
of the village storekeeper told me one day, "That lu Mui-mue! Her
body is stuffed with borrowed money! She has charged over NT\$800
worth of rice from me alone. You don't even have to talk about all the
other food. She borrowed over NT\$400 from my father-in-law a long
time ago. Every time I ask her to pay some of her bill, she says she
doesn't have any money, but then she is always off somewhere gam-
bling. She never stops to think 'I owe lots of people money. I should
stop gambling.'"

*159 In Mui-mue and her husband are both gamblers but on a modest
525 scale. They have neither enough money nor wits to spend the long
hours at the tables with the real addicts. Mui-mue provides the serious
gamblers with great amusement because of her children. The girl is
[85] old enough now to run herd on the two smaller boys, but when their
[855] mother is gambling, all three frequently gang up on the poor woman
and create terrible scenes until she bribes them outdoors with money
for candy and cookies. Since she usually enters the games with small
capital, the children cut her playing time to a minimum. Her own
voracious appetite consumes what little she may win.

*159 I have often wondered what it was that attracted Mui-mue's
581 husband and what it is that keeps him with her. Physically, she
couldn't have been very appealing when they met, and she certainly
[142] hasn't improved since. She is fat, not in the sleek, shining manner of a
prosperous Chinese matron, but with the lumpy, coarseness of a slat-
tern in any culture. Her abilities as a housewife are minimal and her
meals haphazard. Although her eldest child is a pleasant, patient girl
and is perhaps a bit more intelligent than the rest of the family, she is
growing sneaky and spiteful with the burden of the two little boys
constantly on her hands. The boys are literally borderline cases. The

796 morning as usual. The hosts explained that there would be
585 many guests and elaborate food for the "Fire Purification Ceremony" in any case and therefore, it was economical to have a wedding the same day as a big village ceremony. Additionally, the gods had already decided the day was auspicious for worship and therefore, also auspicious for weddings.

796 The drinking and eating parties lasted until after
783 midnight, an unusually late hour in village life. Much
• 521 conversation was devoted to the ceremony and to what the gods had stated about the village and individual villagers. The various statements from the gods were badly distorted as they spread through the community for with the gongs clanging and people running and screaming, many statements were none too clear to start. Additionally, since they tended to be invested with high levels of emotional content, they were subject to considerable distortion as they passed through communication chains. No one villager had heard every statement in the original form. The statements will be repeated innumerable times and will be remembered for many years and the ceremony itself will be discussed for a long time, both in the village and in the region for miles around.

796 The last official function of the responsible com-
783 mittee was fulfilled the next day. At the meeting, the
794 members prepared a final accounting of receipts and

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888 come from all over the island. An interview will be recorded in the local newspaper, the provincial governor and other important officials send small scrolls and even Chiang Kai-shek himself sends a scroll of congratulations which will proudly be displayed on the wall in the kung t'ing.

The 90th, chi shou (senior longevity) is rather an echo of the 70th but will be reported in the newspapers. No one in the village area had been known to reach one hundred but there were hopes for a man over 90 in Erhlei. There was believed to be a special name for the hundredth birthday but no one could recall it although several felt the term had something to do with eating. My questions stimulated much speculation about what gifts and recognition a hundred-year old would receive. One man suggested the gifts would probably include a letter from the head of the United States and several people nodded in agreement.

Recreation

521 The most important form of recreation was conversation which took significant portions of every day, particularly the evenings between dinner and bed-time. Almost any topic was open with gossip about others endemic for everyone knew each other's business. When anyone waited at the bus, every person who passed by asked, "Where are you going? What are you going to do?" When returning on the bus, similar questions were heard, "Where have you been? What did you do?" With a purchase, the question is "What did you buy

- 521 and how much was it?" No matter what the price, the constant response was, "I could get it cheaper!" (See Glossary C). There are few secrets inside the village, but the villagers united against outsiders.

524 Games requiring physical exertion are played by children only. There is only one organized game with rules, the tag ball played in school. Children's games are similar to what would be called "free play" in American schools. There are few toys and most of these are home made. Among adults, only men play games and these are sedentary games of skill such as a card game or chess. There will be chess games a couple of times per week but there are usually more kibitzers than participants. Mah Jong is illegal but there is a game about once or twice a month among the Mainlanders in the area.

543 Religious and life cycle events are colorful affairs which are interesting to observe. For many such events, entertainers are hired such as the crew of 15 or more required to present a Taiwan Hsi (opera) which may last eight or ten hours. Cheap entertainment might include a puppet show, juggler, sword dancers, etc. About once a month or so, a sales crew puts on a show which features songs, dances, and jokes to draw customers. The show
443 is punctuated by the entertainers passing through the audience selling medicine and since the length of the show is determined by the amount sold, some people buy in order to